

Johnson	Murray	Shaheen
Jones	Nelson	Shelby
Kaine	Paul	Sullivan
Kennedy	Perdue	Tester
King	Portman	Thune
Lankford	Risch	Tillis
Lee	Roberts	Toomey
Manchin	Rounds	Wicker
McCaskill	Rubio	Wyden
McConnell	Sasse	Young
Moran	Schumer	
Murphy	Scott	

## NAYS—28

Blumenthal	Gillibrand	Schatz
Booker	Harris	Smith
Brown	Heinrich	Stabenow
Cardin	Klobuchar	Udall
Carper	Markey	Van Hollen
Coons	Menendez	Warner
Cortez Masto	Merkley	Warren
Duckworth	Peters	Whitehouse
Durbin	Reed	
Feinstein	Sanders	

## NOT VOTING—4

Cruz	Leahy
Graham	Murkowski

The nomination was confirmed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority whip.

Mr. CORNYN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the motion to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table and that the President be immediately notified of the Senate's action with respect to the Johnson nomination. I further ask consent that the mandatory quorum call be waived.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Without objection, it is so ordered.

## CLOTURE MOTION

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Pursuant to rule XXII, the Chair lays before the Senate the pending cloture motion, which the clerk will state.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

## CLOTURE MOTION

We, the undersigned Senators, in accordance with the provisions of rule XXII of the Standing Rules of the Senate, do hereby move to bring to a close debate on the nomination of Richard Clarida, of Connecticut, to be Vice Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System for a term of four years.

Mitch McConnell, Richard C. Shelby, Cory Gardner, John Boozman, Johnny Isakson, John Thune, John Cornyn, Pat Roberts, Ron Johnson, James M. Inhofe, Chuck Grassley, Lamar Alexander, Richard Burr, Lisa Murkowski, Michael B. Enzi, Roy Blunt, Bob Corker.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. By unanimous consent, the mandatory quorum call has been waived.

The question is, Is it the sense of the Senate that debate on the nomination of Richard Clarida, of Connecticut, to be Vice Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, shall be brought to a close?

The yeas and nays are mandatory under the rule.

The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. CORNYN. The following Senators are necessarily absent: the Senator from Texas (Mr. CRUZ), the Senator from South Carolina (Mr. GRAHAM),

and the Senator from Alaska (Ms. MURKOWSKI).

Mr. DURBIN. I announce that the Senator from Vermont (Mr. LEAHY) is necessarily absent.

The yeas and nays resulted—yeas 69, nays 26, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 196 Ex.]

## YEAS—69

Alexander	Flake	Nelson
Barrasso	Gardner	Perdue
Bennet	Grassley	Peters
Blumenthal	Hassan	Portman
Blunt	Hatch	Reed
Boozman	Heitkamp	Risch
Burr	Heller	Roberts
Capito	Hoeven	Rounds
Cardin	Hyde-Smith	Rubio
Carper	Inhofe	Sasse
Casey	Isakson	Scott
Cassidy	Johnson	Shaheen
Collins	Jones	Shelby
Coons	Kaine	Smith
Corker	Kennedy	Sullivan
Cornyn	Klobuchar	Tester
Cotton	Lankford	Thune
Crapo	Lee	Tillis
Daines	Manchin	Toomey
Donnelly	McCaskill	Van Hollen
Enzi	McConnell	Warner
Ernst	Moran	Wicker
Fischer	Murphy	Young

## NAYS—26

Baldwin	Harris	Sanders
Booker	Heinrich	Schatz
Brown	Hirono	Schumer
Cantwell	King	Stabenow
Cortez Masto	Markey	Udall
Duckworth	Menendez	Warren
Durbin	Merkley	Whitehouse
Feinstein	Murray	Wyden
Gillibrand	Paul	

## NOT VOTING—4

Cruz	Leahy
Graham	Murkowski

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The yeas are 69, the nays are 26.

The motion is agreed to.

## EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the nomination.

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Richard Clarida, of Connecticut, to be Vice Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System for a term of four years.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority whip.

## REMEMBERING JOHN MCCAIN

Mr. CORNYN. Mr. President, we have been hit with some hard news in recent days. The toughest of all, perhaps, was losing our friend and colleague John McCain this past weekend. He was a man who loved his country and was beloved in return.

One of the things I appreciate the most about our friend Senator McCain is he truly believed in all his heart, in all his being, in all his soul, in American exceptionalism and that America had to lead in the world because in the absence of American leadership, that void would be destabilizing and even dangerous.

We know that John cast a long shadow in Congress over the last four decades of American politics, and we will continue to honor and remember him this week and into the future. But tears and sentimentality are not what

he would want from us. Today, instead, we should try to remain a little more grateful than we otherwise would be. We should be grateful for his example. We should be grateful for his daring skill as a pilot and lieutenant commander in the U.S. Navy. We should be grateful for his tenacity and resolve as a prisoner of war in Vietnam—a prisoner subject to unbelievable cruelty and torture but one who endured all of these unspeakable torments and one who was quick to remind us of what that was endured for; that is, our freedom. I think he was one of liberty's best ambassadors.

We should remain grateful for our friend John McCain's willingness and ability to serve his State of Arizona for so many years and to serve our great country, by running for public office, for radiating such a sense of purpose, such a sense of moral seriousness each time, even during tough, grueling political races. And they didn't always turn out the way he would have liked. We should learn from the dignity and honor that he displayed even in defeat after his Presidential campaigns did not work out in his favor.

Like all of us, he was an imperfect man. Let's just say he was a work in progress, as we all are. He won many political battles, and he lost a few along the way, but he always responded admirably. After slipping with some run-in with adversity, he got back up, dusted himself off, and tried harder the next time.

We should also be grateful for Senator McCain's dedication to our Nation's Armed Forces throughout his political career, including as chairman of the Armed Services Committee, where I served with him for a number of years. We should cherish his friendship. We should remember that at the end of the day, the Senator many called a maverick had a gruff, sometimes intimidating exterior, but he also was a compassionate man and one who displayed not only tremendous loyalty to friends but a tremendous love for his family, who are now grieving.

As our Nation mourns the loss of John McCain and as my colleagues and I are all too aware of his absence here today, we are all challenged to be stronger patriots and better citizens. That is what he would want from us.

As Senator McCain told cadets during a 1993 commencement address at the U.S. Naval Academy, "My time is slipping by. Yours is fast approaching. You will know where your duty lies." Our duty now lies in continuing the difficult, courageous work Senator McCain devoted his life to, and it is not a burden that we take lightly. We do so gladly, and we mourn for those for whom the last few days have been most difficult.

As we express our condolences to Senator McCain's mother, his seven children and five grandchildren, and, of course, his wife Cindy and the entire McCain family, we want them to know that we continue to think of them. We

continue to pray for them. We continue to celebrate with them the great, larger-than-life, and distinguished life of Senator John McCain.

It is hard to lose one of your best teammates, but I know the legacy John McCain leaves here in the Senate will long remain.

I want to echo a few comments made by the majority leader earlier today. John McCain was a lion in the Senate and in American politics. That is why I believe we should put together a bipartisan group who can bring together the best ideas on how we can memorialize his service to his country and his legacy here in the Senate. We should do this carefully and consider all options about what the best form that tribute should take. Doing this in a collaborative and a deliberate way I hope is how Senator McCain would have wanted it. I can't tell you how many times he always advocated for regular order. He didn't want ideas cooked up in some back room and then sprung on the Nation and the Senate; he wanted the committees to do their work because he knew that by doing so—by thinking about them, by testing ideas in a committee process—we improve the chances of a better product.

Despite our heavy loss, we can't lose sight of our other work, either. I think Senator McCain would want us to keep pushing the ball forward and achieving more on behalf of the American people.

We all remember him as a fighter until the very end, and staying in the fight and making progress for the American people is what he would expect of us as well.

#### NOMINATION OF BRETT KAVANAUGH

Mr. President, turning to that work before us, one of the most important constitutional duties the Senate performs is to provide advice and consent to the President on nominations to his Cabinet, to the Federal judiciary, and for other Senate-confirmable positions.

We have the responsibility to do that with a judge whom he has now nominated to succeed Anthony Kennedy as Associate Justice on the U.S. Supreme Court. The hearing on his confirmation will occur next week, and I hope we will move forward quickly thereafter to vote on his confirmation.

Judge Kavanaugh's confirmation process includes the largest production of documents ever in the Senate's consideration of a Supreme Court nominee. Well over 400,000 pages of documents have been produced on the judge's career. I appreciate Senator GRASSLEY's spearheading this effort in such a transparent, efficient, and thorough manner.

Of course, I think logic would tell us that the best way for us to judge Kavanaugh is how he ruled in real, concrete cases that came before him while serving on the DC Circuit Court of Appeals for 12 years. That is the best evidence of how he would perform if elevated and confirmed to the Supreme Court.

In Judge Kavanaugh's case, what those rulings show is that he is a dili-

gent and thoughtful judge. His rulings are clear and they are impartial.

One of his colleagues, Judge Laurence Silberman, called Judge Kavanaugh "one of the most serious judges" he has "ever encountered," and we expect that kind of seriousness and sobriety when it comes to people who wear the black robe and sit in judgment of cases. Attorneys who have practiced before Judge Kavanaugh describe him as an "extremely well-prepared, careful, and thorough" judge.

As I said, Judge Kavanaugh served on the DC Circuit, where he has authored 307 opinions and has attracted praise across the ideological spectrum for the clarity of his thought and expression and the precision of his legal reasoning.

He respects the roles and responsibilities that are assigned to the different branches of government—three coequal branches—by the Constitution, and he sees the proper role of the judiciary as a limited, albeit important, one—not to make policy but to interpret the law and apply it to individual cases impartially, as written, with no eye cast toward the politics of the outcome or a desire to put a thumb on the scales of justice in favor or against one of the litigants.

Judge Kavanaugh has shown through his opinions that he adheres to precedent—something careful, thoughtful judges do—paying a keen eye to legal history and tradition and putting an emphasis on the text of the relevant statutes when interpreting them. How better to effectuate Congress's intent than to read and apply the statutes that are signed into law.

This is in the nominee's own words:

[The] text may be pro-business or pro-labor, pro-development or pro-environment, pro-bank or pro-consumer. Regardless, judges should follow clear text where it leads.

Judge Kavanaugh also approaches his job with humility. When describing his mindset, he said that a good judge has to "keep learning," that they should constantly challenge themselves to study legal problems in greater depth, even when doing so forces them to reconsider their "instincts and prior inclinations."

That is exactly the kind of Justice the Supreme Court needs—one that is never content to rest on his laurels, one that is constantly educating and improving himself when it comes to the history of our country or the nuances and difficult or technical aspects of the law.

The truth is that since his nomination Judge Kavanaugh has demonstrated that he is imminently qualified and well respected by all who know him and those familiar with his work.

So as a member of the Senate Judiciary Committee, I look forward next Tuesday to participating in the confirmation hearings, and soon thereafter I look forward to voting to confirm him as the next Justice on the Supreme Court of the United States.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Florida.

#### REMEMBERING JOHN MCCAIN

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, when you walk by Senator McCain's desk and see the black drape and the bowl of white roses, it really underscores the loss. We lost a colleague. We lost a friend. The country lost a true public servant.

We have heard the stories. After being shot down, spending all those years in the Hanoi Hilton, beaten nearly to death when he was fished out of the lake in downtown Hanoi, he continued to serve his country—in the Navy, in Congress, in this Senate, and, of course, as the party's nominee for President.

His call to serve and his sense of duty and honor is the legacy of John McCain. He is an example for all of us.

He was a fighter, and he was funny too. Maybe it was the years in prison or the long line of military service or the sometimes tense humor of fighter pilots. Maybe it was that legacy of his family in the military, but he knew in his soul how special the United States was and what the United States could do for its people and for the world.

Sometimes we forget the stories of the excruciating pain that Senator McCain went through as a POW. In 2000 David Foster Wallace, in *Rolling Stone* magazine, wrote an article. I want to give you some of the graphic details after he had been nearly beaten to death and his weight had gone down to 100 pounds. When they found out that his father was a four-star admiral and his grandfather was a four-star admiral, they decided they were going to offer him early release. This is what the author writes:

McCain, 100 pounds and barely able to stand, refused [release]. The U.S. military's Code of Conduct for Prisoners of War said that POWs had to be released in the order they were captured, and there were others who'd been in [that prison] Hoa Lo a long time, and McCain refused to violate the Code. The commandant, not pleased, right there in the office had guards break his ribs, rebreak his arm, knock his teeth out. McCain still refused to leave without the other POWs. And so then he spent four more years in Hoa Lo [prison] like this, much of the time in solitary, in the dark, in a closet-sized box called a "punishment cell." Maybe you've heard all this before . . . [there have certainly been] profiles of John McCain. But try to imagine the moment between getting offered early release and turning it down. Try to imagine it was you. Imagine how loudly your most basic, primal self-interest would have cried out to you in that moment, and all the ways you could rationalize accepting the [commandant's] offer. Can you hear it? If so, would you refuse to go? You simply can't know for sure. None of us can. It's hard to even imagine the pain and the fear in that moment, much less how you'd react.

That was written 18 years ago about John. In that moment, you could summarize his courage, his strength, and his will to overcome. But here in the Senate we saw a leader who thought that public service was a noble calling,

a leader who always tried to do the right thing, who always put the people of his country ahead of himself—an individual who always believed that we, as Americans, can subscribe to a cause greater than ourselves.

America is certainly going to miss John McCain. For this Senator and for Grace, as well, it was certainly a privilege to know the McCains and to look up to him as a role model, not only for this Senator but for the entire country.

I yield the floor.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. LEE). The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. COONS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### REMEMBERING JOHN MCCAIN

Mr. COONS. Mr. President, I come to the floor to speak in honor, in memory, of our colleague Senator John Sidney McCain III. I asked myself a series of questions as I was trying to prepare for today's comments.

First, who was he? Who was John McCain? John was a man deeply in love with his country and its promise, a man optimistic that tomorrow would be better than today, and a man grateful for the chance to serve a cause greater than himself. His humor was rooted in that hopefulness, the sometimes sharp sting of his words in debate rooted in his passion for his cause and his love of the fight, and his restlessness rooted in impatience to get on with it, to get busy defending liberty or making a difference in the world to help soften the burdens of millions not yet free. John was both a romantic and a cynic, as some of have said, in love with and passionate about the causes he fought for, yet clear-eyed about the long odds he often faced in a world hostile to our ideals.

In trying to summarize John, just reviewing a few of his titles barely captures the sweep and complexity of this man—naval aviator, POW, captain, Congressman, Senator, chairman of the Commerce Committee, chairman of the Armed Services Committee, Presidential nominee of his party, statesman, hero.

John also treasured, deeply, two titles rarely mentioned here—husband and father. He clearly loved his family and was every bit as privately passionate about them as he was publicly passionate about the causes he fought for here and around the world.

To Cindy and to all of John's family, thank you so much for sharing him with us, for sustaining him in his service over 60 years of his remarkable service to our Nation.

I was so honored to get to know John first as a colleague and then as a traveling companion and mentor and, in recent years, to be able to count him as a friend. We didn't always agree, or even often agree, on a very wide range

of policy and political issues. On one thing in particular, I deeply admired and followed his lead as best I could. John was convinced what makes America great, what has always made America great, is its values, its principles; that we stand for something in the world, not the example of our power but the power of our example; that only when we fight for those values, when we fight for the values that define us apart from other powerful nations—for human rights, for freedom of speech and religious expression, for a free press, an independent judiciary, open and fair elections, for the very foundations of democracy as guarantors of human liberty—only then do we best use our power to act in the world.

What impact did John McCain have on those of us in the Senate and on our country? John commanded this Chamber when he spoke like few others I have ever known, and he commanded it precisely because he called us to our better selves, to put down the tools of petty partisanship so often on display here and to work together to fashion better solutions to the problems of our day.

It was a great honor to be his cosponsor on his last immigration reform bill earlier this year—a bill which offered not partisan promises but a way forward to fix our immigration system, which has, for far too long, been badly broken.

Indeed, from immigration to healthcare, national security to foreign relations, John challenged us, pushed us to act in ways more worthy of this place and its history as the greatest deliberative body on Earth, as a full equal to the Executive, our President, as a group elected and empowered over longer terms to know each other, to respect each other, and engage with each other in the real and hard and good work of advancing America's values at home and abroad.

What impact did John McCain have on me, the junior Senator from Delaware? First, my predecessor, former Senator and Vice President Joe Biden, let me know, from my first day here, that John was a treasure and a challenge and that I would, in serving alongside him, have a unique opportunity to learn from someone whose scope of experience was, in many ways, unmatched among our current Senate colleagues.

I had the honor of traveling with John, of seeing him at his absolute best, of seeing him show compassion for Syrian refugees at a camp in Jordan, hearing him confront corrupt foreign leaders and encourage our men and women in harm's way, and, most memorably, visiting Vietnam to see the genuine warmth with which the Vietnamese people and their leaders regarded him.

I first encountered John overseas on my first codel, or congressional delegation trip, just a few months into my first term, early in 2011. I was traveling with Senators MANCHIN, CORKER, and

SANDERS, and we had visited Pakistan, Afghanistan, Jordan, and Israel. It was quite a group and a memorable trip at a time of great conflict, particularly in Afghanistan and Pakistan. It was our last day in Israel before returning home. I spotted former Senator Joe Lieberman of Connecticut at dinner at the David Citadel Hotel, and he waved me over. He and McCain had just finished a long dinner, and Lieberman asked me to sit down and talk about our trip, our experiences, and recent developments in Pakistan and Afghanistan.

McCain barely acknowledged my presence with a gruff grunt and seemed genuinely distracted and even annoyed as I was answering Joe Lieberman's questions, McCain looking around the room and barely paying any attention. After 10 minutes, John snapped to and asked me three pointed and challenging questions, testing my observations and my conclusions. Rattled and intimidated, I defended as best I could my insights before his withering questioning. McCain grunted and stormed off, and in the silence of his wake he left behind him, Joe Lieberman leaned over and said: I think he really likes you.

I said: How can you tell?

To which Lieberman responded: He wouldn't have bothered asking you those questions or waiting for your answers if he didn't think you had something to say.

There followed invitations to travel, which I accepted less often than I should have, but three trips were especially memorable. While visiting a refugee camp in Jordan where hundreds of Syrians had literally just arrived, fleeing the butchery of Assad's troops, John wept with compassion for women who recounted their husbands being murdered before them and their children being taken from them. John promised to fight for them and their cause relentlessly, and he did.

Just after inauguration last year at the North Atlantic Regional Security Conference in Halifax, Canada, I got to see John command respect across the board from political and military leaders from a dozen countries, and I heard as leaders from allies and partners across Europe—from the Baltics to the Balkans—pressed him for reassurance that we would keep our commitments, defend our values, and stand by their young democracies in the face of Russian aggression.

During that trip, too, Senator McCain, once again, reiterated his principled, unequivocal stand against the use of torture. His unwavering commitment on that issue at that critical time was just one of the many ways John nudged us ever closer to our ideals.

Finally, on an unforgettable trip to Vietnam just last June, I got to visit the Hanoi Hilton with John to hear his indescribable description of the deep deprivations of his long captivity and torture and then got to see in person

the high regard the people and leaders of Vietnam had for him as a warrior and a peacemaker, a statesman, and healer of the wounds of that war.

We admired John for all these things, but working with him in the Senate, traveling with him, many of us got to know him as not just a war hero and statesman but a colleague, even a friend. John's temper was quick and fierce. On more than one occasion, I swear he peeled the paint off the wall behind me with a fiery stream of profanity-laced invective, but he also, more often than not, later apologized, came around, listened, even considered. He was that breed of Senator—too rare today—who knew how to fight passionately, yet not make it personal; whom I could respect, even when I thought he was deeply wrong; who pushed me relentlessly to defend and explain my own positions and votes.

He showed unusual kindness to my children, my father and stepmother when they visited, and I was struck by the delight John took in visiting with schoolchildren and seniors, with people of all kinds of backgrounds when they visited this Capitol he loved.

He also took wicked delight in teasing, and testing and working with journalists, always letting them in on the joke or giving them a heads-up when good trouble was brewing.

Most importantly, Senator John McCain was genuinely humble, not the false modesty of a popular politician who knows he should feign indifference to the cheers of a crowd. No, John's humility was real, a demonstrated humility of one who knows he is a flawed and fallen human, as are we all, and then sets about being open and accountable for his shortcomings.

John, remarkably, for a modern politician, wrote and spoke about and acted on the ways in which he fell short. In an excellent recent HBO biography of him, "For Whom the Bell Tolls," McCain subjected himself to accountability for chapters in his life I am certain he would have rather left forgotten in history.

In talking about the 2000 Presidential primaries, rather than simply blaming his opponents and their dirty tricks for his loss, John took responsibility for his failure to stand up in South Carolina against the practice of flying the Confederate flag over their State capitol.

John, even more strikingly, directly addressed his association with the Keating Five scandal. John McCain was cleared, but he viewed that scandal as part of the larger and growing problem of campaign finance that has threatened the ethics of all who serve here. Rather than moving past it, he owned it and acted on it, angering leaders in both parties by working relentlessly with Senator Feingold until they passed the McCain-Feingold campaign finance reform bill.

John also used his hardest personal experience to make some of his most important contributions. Having him-

self survived imprisonment and torture at the hands of his Vietnamese captors, Captain McCain could easily have returned home after those 5½ harrowing years in captivity to serve out his time and retire in comfort. Instead, he continued his cause of serving our Nation and, while here, worked tirelessly to champion those unjustly imprisoned around the world. Dissidents and activists who spoke up for freedom and against dictators knew no more dedicated friend than Senator McCain, and we on the Senate Human Rights Caucus intend to carry forward that work.

After 9/11, when our own country was engaged in enhanced interrogation techniques that could only be called torture, Senator McCain was irate and insisted we end a practice he knew was both of limited value and that demeans both tortured and torturer.

John's passion on this point wasn't just the pain of one who had experienced it himself, it was the pain of someone who loved his country and felt deeply the shame of episodes like Abu Ghraib and then worked to address them.

What will it mean to have Senator McCain no longer here with us? My fear and concern is, we will not soon see another Member of John's stature join us, a stature John earned over decades of service and a demonstrated willingness to put country over party and cause over self.

Senator McCain earned his "Maverick" title. It would serve all of us well to remember that even as his principled stands cost him the support of many in his party and even home State, he won the accolades of many more here and millions abroad who were delighted to see someone willing to risk reaching across the aisle and around the world from those hoping we will continue to fight for the values that best define America.

What should we do? What should we do to honor the memory and legacy of Senator McCain? First, fight the dreaded disease that took him from us, as it did my dear friend Beau Biden, beloved son of my predecessor Joe—Beau was taken too young—and Senator Ted Kennedy, another great lion of this Senate who was lost at a time he was needed most. Brain cancer has robbed us of our best and brightest, and we must work harder to cure and end this disease.

As has been proposed, I believe we should rename the great Senate building in which John served for decades, that we might keep his memory alive for future generations.

I also think we should strengthen and invest in national service, an expectation that all young Americans will serve their country in some way, military or civilian, which will take effort and investment, but service as a young man helped John fall in love with our Nation. At a time of great division, I can think of nothing greater to remind us of the spirit of service in which John lived his life than to make it possible

for the hundreds of thousands of young Americans who want to serve—whether in Teach For America or Habitat for Humanity, the Peace Corps or our military—by expanding those opportunities for them to learn skills, commit themselves to our community and country, and earn tuition funds for college through service.

We must stay engaged internationally and lead by the power of our example. John would say this requires us to advance not just America's cherished values, but our interests—to stand against authoritarian leaders from Russia, China, North Korea, and Iran, and to stand with our democratic partners and allies like those in NATO.

Last, we have to continue in John's spirit of working across the aisle. I was struck, while hearing his remarkable speech in Philadelphia at the National Constitution Center, where my predecessor, Vice President Biden, spoke movingly in introducing him, and Senator McCain's acceptance of that award. It should be mandatory viewing at every high school in America. It was clear these two men, who served decades alongside each other, genuinely knew each other, knew each other's families, knew each other's values, respected each other, even though they rarely, if ever, agreed. We must do that too.

We have to demonstrate that we can work together and, like John, be cheerful and grateful in our service.

I caught my breath as I walked into this Chamber yesterday, seeing John's desk draped in black velvet and with white flowers rather than seeing his remarkable stature, hearing his punctuated speech and his dramatic call to action that so often rang through this space.

John, I will not soon meet another man like you, and I only hope to someday deserve the friendship you extended to a young and inexperienced Senator and to follow your example of genuine humility, dedication, and passion in tirelessly serving the greatest Nation on Earth and the best hope for freedom in our world.

Rest well, dear friend. May God Himself hold you in the palm of His hand and give peace to you and your family.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Utah.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I be able to complete my remarks here today.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, I rise to pay tribute to an American hero, a powerful leader, and a dear friend, Senator John McCain. After decades of dedicated service to this Nation, John was taken from us over the weekend. The good Senator from Arizona fought his battle with brain cancer as he did every battle in his life, with toughness and tenacity, with grit, and with grace. This week, I join millions in mourning the passing of a beloved patriot. Over a

lifetime of selfless service, John came to embody the very pinnacle of American virtue, courage, commitment, integrity, and sacrifice. These are the precepts he lived by and by which he will always be remembered.

No one is more worthy of the word “hero” than John McCain. The Senate—indeed, I should say, the Nation—will miss the steady, guiding presence of a singular statesman.

By now, the biographical details of Senator McCain’s life have been covered at length. The son of a four-star Navy admiral, John knew great expectations from an early age. He was to forgo the comforts of civilian life and fight for freedom, which he did.

What is exceptional about John McCain is that he not only met the heavy expectations placed upon him, he far exceeded them. Few have ever risen to the positions of influence that John McCain did. Fewer still have done so and kept their character intact, but Senator John McCain did. Indeed, he never parted from it. As a prisoner of war in Vietnam, John was offered release on multiple occasions. Yet he refused each offer until the POWs incarcerated before him were also released.

Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his country, for his friends. John possessed such love, proving time and again his willingness to lay down his life for his brothers in uniform. As a captive, John McCain personified selfless sacrifice, offering himself as a bargaining chip to secure the freedom of his fellow countrymen.

Each day, for more than 2,000 days, he endured horrors that few of us could ever imagine: solitary confinement, forced starvation, repeated beatings, and the constant threat of death. Yet he stayed the course, finding strength in the love he felt for his fellow servicemen—and most of all, the love he felt for his beloved country.

When John was eventually released in the spring of 1973, he came home a living scar of Vietnam. The cartilage in his knees was all but gone, the bones in his body broken by endless beatings. He was a walking testament to the brutalities of torture and the depths of human depravity, but the hell of war was not enough to stop John McCain from being a happy warrior. Upon his return, he continued the same mission he started in Vietnam: looking out for the safety and welfare of his fellow sailors.

Few remember that the time before John was elected to Congress, he was the Navy’s Senate liaison. It was in this capacity that he and I first became friends. Even then, John impressed me with his sense of mission, going to incredible lengths to ensure that our service men and women had the resources they needed to keep us safe. He would carry that same commitment with him when he was elected to the House of Representatives in 1982 and 5 years later when he joined us in the Senate.

The Pentagon had no closer ally than John McCain. They also had no fiercer critic. Like an admiral who demanded only the very best of his sailors, John wanted to ensure that our servicemen were living to their full potential, and so he held our Armed Forces to the highest standard, never hesitating to call out bureaucratic complacency and runaway spending in military ranks. Our men and women in uniform were stronger and our Nation more safe because of his efforts. No one commanded more respect than John McCain as the chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee.

John constantly put others before himself as a prisoner of war, and he did the same as a Senator. He was the kind of a friend you could count on for help when you needed it most.

Nearly 20 years ago, Governor Mitt Romney—who at the time had been tasked with salvaging the Salt Lake Winter Olympic Games—came to me with a pressing problem: With only months to go before the opening ceremony, Utah lacked the Federal funding it desperately needed to pull off the Olympic Games.

In our moment of need, we turned to Senator McCain. I took Mitt over to see him. The two of us marched up to Senator McCain’s office in the Russell Building. Even though we came unannounced, Senator McCain gladly received us. Together, Mitt and I made the case for emergency funding. Within days, we had secured the resources we needed to move forward with the games, all thanks to Senator John McCain. Were it not for John’s quick action, I can honestly say the 2002 Winter Olympics would not have been a success. In fact, it would have been an embarrassment. He was not excited about putting up Federal funds either, but all I had to do was ask, and he said fine.

So esteemed was John by his Republican colleagues that we didn’t hesitate to throw our support behind him in the 2008 Presidential election. Senator McCain mounted an admirable campaign, refusing to stoop to the political mudslinging that all too often defines Presidential contests. I agree with the assessment of the late Charles Krauthammer:

McCain ran a valiant race against impossible odds. He will be—he should be—remembered as the most worthy Presidential nominee ever to be denied the prize.

That was a wonderful quote.

We will remember John for many things—for his courage as a sailor, for his dedication as a Senator, and for his principle as a statesman. We will also remember how he embodied the best in us. John McCain was a man for all seasons—a voice of temperance in intemperate times and a model of civility and reason. The tragedy of his passing is that we need men like John McCain now more than ever before.

I consider myself incredibly lucky to have known John and even luckier to have called him friend. Here in the

Senate and across the Nation, we will miss him dearly.

John, thank you for blessing us with your service and your sacrifice.

Today, my prayers are with the people of Arizona and the McCain family. I differed with John from time to time, but we never had any acrimony between us. He was always open. He would come across and help me when I needed the help here in the Senate, as I would do for him. It was a privilege to serve with him. I feel very deeply about John McCain, and I am very pleased that I can stand here as one of his friends who knew him well and praise him—maybe not as good as I really feel but good enough.

NOMINATION OF BRETT KAVANAUGH

Mr. President, on another matter, I would like to take a moment to discuss the nomination of Brett Kavanaugh to be an Associate Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court.

Next Tuesday, the Judiciary Committee will convene a hearing to consider Judge Kavanaugh’s nomination. The hearing will run 4 days. The American people will have an opportunity to hear from Judge Kavanaugh at length. They will also hear from a number of lawyers, former colleagues, and clerks who know Judge Kavanaugh well and can attest to his legal abilities and personal character.

Ever since the President nominated Judge Kavanaugh to the Supreme Court, my Democratic colleagues have hurled all sorts of wild acquisitions against him. They have called him a reactionary. That is terrible. They have said his nomination threatens the destruction of the Constitution—even more terrible. They have said that those who support his nomination are complicit in evil—even more terrible.

Well, next week the American people will have an opportunity to see Judge Kavanaugh. They will find that he is not a reactionary. They will find that he doesn’t, in fact, intend to destroy the Constitution. They will also find that those who, like me, support his nomination are not complicit in evil. Rather, the American people will see a whip-smart, incredibly accomplished, humble man. They will see a jurist who has authored more than 300 opinions and whose reasoning has won the day at the Supreme Court over a dozen times where the Court has copied his opinions. They will see a devoted husband and father who puts his family and community first. They will see a man who spends his spare time coaching youth basketball and feeding the homeless. They will see a beloved teacher who wins sterling reviews from students for his fairminded approach to teaching constitutional law. In other words, the American people will see what those of us who know Judge Kavanaugh see in him. It is those qualities that make me proud of the role I played in his confirmation as a circuit court judge in 2006 after years of partisan obstruction.

I have been on the Judiciary Committee for the last 14 Supreme Court

confirmation hearings. Judge Kavanaugh's will be my 15th and final. He is as qualified and ready to serve as any nominee I have seen to our Nation's highest Court.

I hope that next week, the over-the-top rhetoric and misrepresentations about Judge Kavanaugh will finally cease. Let's make this confirmation about Judge Kavanaugh. Let's make it about his judiciary record and his experience. Let's stop trying to gin up the base by pretending his nomination is a threat to the Republic.

Brett Kavanaugh is an excellent judge and a good man. He will make an outstanding Justice. Next week, the American people will see that for themselves. I think it will be an eye-opener for some people who have been listening to some of the rhetoric thrown his way. I know him well. He is a bright man. He is an honest man. He tells the truth. He writes very well. He will make an excellent addition to the U.S. Supreme Court. He is honest. He is faithful. He is a good family man. He is everything you would want in a Justice on the greatest court in the world. I know him. I support him—not just because he is a Republican or because he gives the Republicans somewhat of an advantage on the Court but because he is one heck of a good person, one heck of a good judge, and one heck of a good student of the law. He is a wonderful man, and I hope my colleagues on both sides of the aisle will see it through in a way that will be an honor to this body, not a desecration.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Carolina.

Mr. TILLIS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I be able to complete my brief remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

REMEMBERING JOHN MCCAIN

Mr. TILLIS. Mr. President, before I speak on another topic I sadly have to come to the floor every week and speak on, I want to offer my heartfelt condolences to the McCain family and all of his friends and supporters.

I had the privilege of serving on the Senate Armed Services Committee with Senator McCain for 3 years. I learned a lot from him. During his entire time in Congress, he did a wonderful job of standing up for the men and women in uniform and standing up for veterans.

I also wanted to share this one story. I had a reporter ask me yesterday: What kinds of experiences have you had with him that were most memorable? It was a day I spent with him in North Carolina back in 2014. I think you can really judge a politician by how they behave when they are not in front of the camera or here at one of the desks in the Senate. When you saw him interacting with men and women in uniform and with veterans, you saw a man with a heart of gold and a commitment to those men and women in uniform.

I want to again tell the McCain family that our prayers are with them and our hearts are with them. We thank them for allowing him to share some of his life here with us in the Senate.

CALLING FOR THE RELEASE OF PASTOR ANDREW BRUNSON

Mr. President, now I would like to turn to another sad topic. It is a floor speech that I have had to give over the past few months and sadly may have to give over the next several months. It has to do with someone who has been in detention now for 690 days in the country of Turkey.

In October 2016, this man was detained. He was held in a Turkish prison for almost 19 months, in a cell that was designed for 8 people—it had 21 people in it. This man's name is Andrew Brunson. He is from Black Mountain, NC. He is a Presbyterian minister, and he spent the better part of 20 years in Turkey in a Christian ministry. He opened a church just outside of Izmir several years ago. It is a very small church. They had an open-door policy. Anyone could come in. He had been living there peacefully for 20 years.

In 2016, there was a coup attempt that I still maintain was illegal. It was not the proper way to change government, whether in the United States or in Turkey. The people responsible for that coup should be held accountable to the law. Unfortunately, Pastor Brunson got swept up in the emergency actions that President Erdogan took after the coup attempt, and he was put in prison. He actually thought he was going down to finally get his permanent residency documents in Turkey, which he had been working on for a while, when he and his wife were arrested. His wife was held in prison for about 12 days. Pastor Brunson has been in prison and now detained under house arrest for what will be 2 years in October.

The issue actually came to me as constituent work about a year and a half ago. We were doing everything we could to go through diplomatic channels to try to get Pastor Brunson released. Earlier this year, they finally—after about 19 months in prison without charges, they issued an indictment and read the indictment. It was absurd. I am not an attorney, but I couldn't even understand how—the charges they had levied against Pastor Brunson and the evidence they used to substantiate the charges I don't believe would keep you in jail in the United States overnight. Yet this man had already been held in prison for 19 months. I also heard that he was really concerned. His mental state was down. He lost 50 pounds over about a year and a half. I also heard through diplomatic channels that he was afraid that the American people would read these indictments, believe them, and then turn their backs on him. That is when I requested a trip to Turkey to visit him in a prison and look at him eye-to-eye and let him know that as long as I am a U.S. Senator, he will not be forgotten.

About 6 weeks later, I went back, and I sat through 12 hours of his first hearing—12 hours in a Turkish courtroom. That convinced me that this man was being subjected to a kangaroo court. The legal system there is very different from our own. He has no jury. He is speaking before three judges and a prosecutor who sits up at the dais with the judges. They assume you are guilty unless you prove to them you are innocent. He testified for almost 6 hours that day. We heard from secret witnesses whose voices were scrambled—some of them are in prison—putting forth some of the most absurd charges or allegations you can imagine, but they are enough to keep him in prison.

About a month ago, the Turkish Government did agree—or I should say their judiciary did agree to release him on house arrest. So for about the last month, he has been confined to an apartment he has near Izmir. He has a tracking bracelet on his ankle. As far as I am concerned, he is still in prison.

For the past several months, I have been trying to do everything I could to show respect to the Turkish Government but make it clear that America will not stand for this kind of treatment of an American citizen, particularly from a country that is a NATO ally, a country that we have a treaty obligation to go and defend in a time of any sort of adversarial act. Let's say Russia or some other nation chooses to do something hostile to Turkey. We are obligated to send men and women onto Turkish soil to fight side by side for their freedom. Yet I have an American who has been charged with bogus charges in prison in a NATO ally country. This is the first time that has ever happened in the history of the alliance.

When we talk to the people—the Foreign Minister, President Erdogan, and others—about this, they say: Well, we just have to have our judicial process follow its course. I don't believe that is true. As a matter of fact, I believe we have a President who is inclined to try and do a hostage swap. The reason I believe that is that after they said we have to let the judicial process follow its course, President Erdogan made this statement publicly—that they have someone here who they believe was involved in the coup attempt. We said to them, if they are and can prove it and if we have an extradition treaty, we will extradite that person. They haven't proven it. What they have said to the press is, If you give us our pastor, we will give you your pastor.

Maybe it was just an offhanded comment that he regrets. Maybe he didn't really mean that he is willing to trade someone on U.S. soil for somebody on Turkish soil. Then why, just a few weeks ago, did the administration or administration officials say, "Well, OK, if we can't trade a pastor for a pastor, then if you agree to drop a lawsuit that is against a major banking institution in Turkey, we will give you Pastor Brunson"? If, after two different examples, they haven't proven that



this is a hostage situation, I don't know what is.

Over the past several months, we have had to put a provision in the National Defense Authorization Act to hold Turkey accountable. It relates to Pastor Brunson's imprisonment. It relates to their consideration for buying a Russian-made missile defense system that would never be allowed to inter-operate with the NATO missile defense system. We have also told them that we may have to reconsider whether we would actually transfer Joint Strike Fighter F-35 planes to Turkey and the timeline they are supposed to go there, which would be at the end of 2020.

I hope we get past all of this. I hope that measure in the National Defense Authorization Act is the last one I have to pursue here. Yet, as long as Pastor Brunson is imprisoned in Turkey, I will do everything I can to get the 72 Senators who signed the letter that expressed concern for Pastor Brunson—it is extraordinary to get that many Senators to agree on something in this body—to take it up another notch unless Pastor Brunson is set free.

I hope, next week, I will come to this floor and thank Turkey for doing the right thing in releasing Pastor Brunson and in allowing his wife, Norine, to travel out of the country. I hope, next year or next week, I will be talking about the positive things we can do with the NATO allies to secure their homeland, to improve our trade agreements, and to actually have the relationship with that NATO ally that I want so badly to have. Until Pastor Brunson is released, there is no way on this Earth that I will do anything to make our relationship better.

It is within President Erdogan's power to take this off the table today. I hope that President Erdogan and the Turkish officials hear our pleas. Show us, a NATO ally, the respect we deserve, and free Pastor Brunson.

I yield the floor.

## RECESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate stands in recess until 2:15 p.m.

Thereupon, the Senate, at 12:48 p.m., recessed until 2:15 p.m. and reassembled when called to order by the Presiding Officer (Mr. PORTMAN).

## EXECUTIVE CALENDAR—Continued

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from South Carolina.

### REMEMBERING JOHN MCCAIN

Mr. GRAHAM. Mr. President, I have been thinking about this, I have been dreading this, and now I am going to do this.

To all of my colleagues who have come before me, you have done right by our friend Senator McCain. The family appreciates all the good words, the kindnesses, and the antidotes that

have come their way. This is a tough time for the family.

John has seven wonderful children.

Cindy, as a devoted wife, you really did well by John.

I am going to try to make this somewhat fun even though I don't feel in a funny mood right now.

Let's start off with the tie. To anybody who may be watching on television, this is a Naval Academy tie.

I wore this today, John, to honor you and to annoy you all at the same time.

He would constantly tell me: LINDSEY, I wish you were in my Naval Academy class.

I would say: Well, that is very nice, John.

Do you know why, LINDSEY?

No, John.

If you would have been in my class, I would have been sixth from the bottom, not fifth.

Thank you very much, John.

Humiliation and affection were constant companions. The more he humiliated you, the more he liked you, and in that regard, I was well-served.

To my colleagues, thank you again so much for what you have done. The only way I know to put this in words that maybe John can relate to is that after a military operation is over, after a mission is complete, the pilot comes back and debriefs. If there is a military operation, you do an after-action report. I thought to myself, what would it say? What would the after-action report for John McCain say? The purpose of these reports is for lessons learned so that we will benefit and make sure that we remember—remember the things that went well and the things that did not so that we will be better off as a unit and as a nation.

The title of the operation was pretty easy—you can say a lot of things about me but “clever” is not one of them—“Operation Maverick.” It began in the fall of 1954 at the Naval Academy—the year before I was born—and it ended August 25, 2018. And what can we learn? The source of the report is me, his political wingman, code named “Little Jerk”—you all have your names, and you earned them like I did—who was lucky enough to walk in his shadow and to witness history up close, to be in the presence of a giant at a time everything around us was so small.

What did I learn? I learned that a few dumb jokes told over and over again actually become funny and can take you a long way in politics, MARCO. I am going to give them to you because John liked you.

He said: LINDSEY, how hot is it in Arizona?

John, I don't know.

It is so hot that the trees chase the dogs.

Well, isn't that funny, John.

He said: What is unique about Arizona?

I said: I don't know, John. I would imagine a lot of things.

Barry Goldwater ran for President and lost. Mo Udall ran for President

and lost. I ran for President and lost. LINDSEY, it is the only place in the Nation where mothers tell their children: You can never grow up to be President.

I say to the Senator from Oregon, remember that. Maybe you can break the string.

He said: LINDSEY, aren't you a lawyer?

Yes, I am, John.

Do you know the difference between a lawyer and a catfish?

No, I don't.

One is a bottom-dwelling, scum-sucking creature, and the other is a fish.

No wonder we did so poorly with lawyers, John.

He said: Do you know why I didn't join the Marines, LINDSEY?

No.

My parents were married.

I am going to miss these dumb jokes.

What else did I learn? I learned how to fight a lot, everything and everybody. I learned how to forgive. And from him, I saw how to heal.

On the fighting side, I learned that the captured warrior who was tortured became the statesman who forgave and healed a relationship between his former adversary and our Nation.

I went to the Hanoi Hilton with John. That is one of the highlights of my life. It is now a museum, and we are the bad guys because they get to write how the museum reads. I remember being in front of his cell, and you could see the wheels turning and the memories coming back. As we walked forward, surrounded by a bunch of handlers—and John McCain was like Elvis in Vietnam. It was the most amazing thing in the world how people adored him in Vietnam. I saw a bunch of photos on the wall of the prisoners playing volleyball and sitting in the Sun with sunglasses on.

I said: John, it must not have been that bad after all.

With a wide smile, he said: I don't remember it this way—which allowed us to get out of Vietnam.

I remember him embracing a war that nobody wanted to talk about because he understood what it would cost to lose it. I remember him supporting the surge when everybody was willing to get out of Iraq because they were so tired of it and saw no way forward. I remember the fighter. I remember the 2008 campaign when, in 2007, John McCain was fifth in a four-person race; written off as politically dead; no money. The “Straight Talk Express” had no wheels.

After a visit to Iraq in July, where General Petraeus allowed him to talk to 600 people who were going to reenlist in a war that they did not have to continue to fight, and about an equal number were becoming citizens because they were fighting for their country and had expedited citizenship—there were two empty chairs in the front with boots, and John asked: What is that all about? Two didn't make it to the ceremony, but they were given their citizenship that day. I remember